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Comment

Incorporating Empire

SUDANESE SELF-GOVERNMENT

IF the proposed new statute goes through, the Sudanese will enjoy a more advanced constitution than the Gold Coast. The draft has already been debated by the Legislative Assembly. Previously, it had been discussed with the Executive Council, on which Sudanese Ministers serve, and had been the subject of prolonged discussion by the Constitutional Commission set up last year, and in the Provinces. The proposals must now be considered by the Co-dominion, Britain and Egypt.

The Constitution provides for a double-chamber Parliament consisting entirely of Sudanese. The upper house, the Senate, is composed of 20 members nominated by the Governor-General in his discretion, and 30 elected members, allocated amongst the provinces according to their population and elected by all the Sudanese members of Local Government Councils and Provincial Councils sitting together in provincial electoral colleges. In the lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, there will be no nominated and no official members. In 24 constituencies (mainly urban) there will be direct voting by secret ballot. Fifty-four members will be elected by electoral colleges, and three, in the Graduates' Constituency, will be chosen by postal ballot with a single transferable vote, on the lines of the British University seats abolished by the Labour Government. Unfortunately, women are excluded from the franchise except in the Graduates' Constituency. Indirect election is also an undesirable feature, though it is generally accepted as necessary for the rural areas. Indeed, special provision has had to be made for the Southern Provinces, where the age-limit for seats in the Senate is lowered and where certain classes of Government officials will be allowed to stand for election. The composition and powers of the Council of Ministers fulfil the pledge of self-government. The Chamber of Deputies will elect a Prime Minister, who will advise the Governor-General on the appointment of the rest. The only limitation

is that two must be elected Southerners. This Council will be collectively responsible to Parliament. The Governor-General must act on its advice except, during the period before the Sudanese exercise their right to self-determination, in certain specific circumstances. He may, for example, take special steps in the event of a breakdown of the Constitution; he will control foreign relations (though the Council of Ministers and Parliament may discuss them and make recommendations), and he has a special responsibility for the protection of the interests of the South, in the exercise of which he will act in his discretion. These discretionary powers, which are in any case temporary, should not prove irksome. As the Civil Secretary pointed out in presenting the draft Statute, the Governor-General 'has never once in the three and a half years of the present Executive Council and Legislative Assembly had to exercise the powers of veto which are given to him under the Ordinance.' The Sudan will thus enjoy internal self-government roughly comparable to that of Southern Rhodesia, but with the added distinctions of universal manhood suffrage and a declaration of fundamental rights written into its Constitution.

The crucial decision now lies with Egypt. Surely the Egyptians can agree to the exercise of self-determination by the Sudanese? There is nothing to stop them opting for union with Egypt under the sovereignty of the Egyptian Crown, if that is what they want. The Egyptians rightly point out that the present Legislative Assembly does not speak for the Ashigga Party, which is pro-Egyptian and boycotted the elections of 1948. But cannot the Ashigga fight the next elections under the new Constitution? If the Ashigga claim to represent 88 per cent of the population is correct, what should they be frightened of? The Sudan Government has an excellent record behind it. It would be a tragedy if the consummation of its policy were frustrated not by the Sudanese but by Britain's less happy relations with Egypt.

SOUTH AFRICAN TRIUMPH

THERE is so much to complain of in South Africa that an opportunity to pay tribute for a change will be welcome to everybody. A tribute is certainly due to the integrity of the judges of the Appeal Court who condemned, on legal grounds, the attempt of the Nationalist Government to destroy the rights of Coloured voters in defiance of the terms of the Constitution under which they hold office. Dr. Malan's Government has reacted as expected. The situation is now 'intolerable,' according to Dr. Malan. 'Who rules? Government or Appeal Court?' has been suggested as a suitable party slogan for rallies in the Transvaal. The very wording of the question demonstrates the unfitness of its framers even to participate in democratic government, far less to lead it. The Nationalists have now proved the contention of the Torch Commando that their dictatorial methods threaten not only Africans, Indians and Coloureds, but constitutional government itself—and with it, *all* citizens of South Africa. It is sad indeed that this proof should be given at a time when South Africa is celebrating the three-hundredth anniversary of the coming of European civilisation to the Cape. But it is equally a matter for rejoicing that the courts and those South Africans who do cling to their democratic heritage have had a victory too.

SIERRA LEONE ELECTIONS

THE National Council of Sierra Leone, representing Creoles in the Colony, has not received much support in this country for its claim that British-protected persons in the Protectorate should have a legislative body separate from that of the Colony. Nigeria and the Gold Coast have also merged Colony and Protectorate areas under their present constitutions, and there the combination has been welcomed as national unification. But the Sierra Leone Colony has a special history of its own, which the National Council delegation hopes to continue. The desire is understandable, although their position would appear to be untenable in modern conditions. They can hope for success, however, on one important point. The system of election to Legislative Council was, in the Protectorate, most unsatisfactory. Election was indirect, through District Councils which are in effect representative of tribal authorities. British subjects from the Colony living in the Protectorate were thus excluded unless they had paid settlers' fees. Indirect election is in any case unsatisfactory, since it opens the way to domination by chiefs or officials, and to corruption. It is to the interest of all Sierra Leoneans in both Protectorate and

Colony to alter a system so open to abuse. If the leaders of both parties can come together to agree on alteration, the Colonial Office will not stand in their way. Mr. Lyttelton has already stated in the House of Commons (April 9) that he hopes it will be possible to introduce a new system before the next general election in 1956. It is now up to Sierra Leone to break the record of sterile division which it has maintained since the end of the war.

WHAT IS PARTNERSHIP?

IN this number of *Venture* our readers' contributions to the difficult discussion on 'partnership' in East and Central Africa are brought to a conclusion. The discussion has ranged wide, beginning with detailed proposals for constitutional and other changes in Northern Rhodesia (whose delegates to the Victoria Falls Conference on Central African Federation originally raised the whole question) to more theoretical examinations of the outlook and circumstances of the different racial groups concerned. Our contributors have not all agreed on points of detail, but their different approaches lead to the same broad conclusions—that in any country 'dreams of political independence can become a reality for the people' only when it is realised that 'a country must be built,' that the building requires contributions from all its people, and that services rendered to the whole community will 'assist in narrowing the gap between individuals, or groups, and check egoism and self-assertion.' Within this context, some have stressed the need for abolition of colour-bar practices, others have asked for inter-racial education, some have concentrated on political representation.

All are necessary; all are subjects of controversy between the racial groups involved. How are they to be attained? The fact is that they cannot be attained unless some of the immediate irritants are removed by agreement. Here is the task for the practical politicians—a task which has been gravely complicated by the Conservative Government's handling of the problem of Central African Federation, but which will not be ended even when the federation issue has been decided. It is fitting, therefore, that the discussion should be brought to a close by Jim Griffiths. In his tour of Central Africa last year he formed the highest opinion of the capacity of Africans to discuss the fundamental problems of their countries. He listened to their views. He listened also to the views of European representatives. He saw the realities of inter-racial conflict as they affect the ordinary worker—for him, they were symbolised by the great silicosis centre on the Copperbelt, which white and black miners enter by separate doors. We publish on

page 6 extracts from a speech he made to a meeting called by the Fabian Colonial Bureau on March 19. We publish also a belated statement issued by the Government of Northern Rhodesia. This document, which is a draft for discussion only, bristles with controversial statements. We hold

over our comments on it. In negotiating settlements of the problems raised, the political and industrial leaders of Northern Rhodesia can, if they wish, take the first and decisive steps on the path of practical partnership. They can, if they wish, give a lead to half a continent.

CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE

MR. LYTTTELTON and his colleagues have been giving a first-class demonstration of the use of the heavy hand in the last few weeks. First Mr. Lennox-Boyd refused to see the delegates from the Kenya African Union, and then, having climbed down and seen them, issued an extremely tough press release on the interview (in itself, an unusual departure from Colonial Office practice in the last few years). Then what appears to have been a systematic attempt to discredit African opposition to Central African federation was launched. The African campaign—to judge from answers to Conservative questions in Parliament—is really negligible: there has been a failure to collect funds for the proposed unofficial delegations to come to London, the delegations represent nobody of consequence and will not be received if they do turn up, a speech made by the Northern Rhodesian African Congress President really had no audience to listen, etc. If all this is true, why have attempts been made to stop the collection of funds in Nyasaland, why bring Simon Zukas before the courts in Northern Rhodesia, together with the President and Secretary of the African Congress? Has there been disorder? Has there been a general strike? There has been neither. Africans are bound to draw the conclusion that every possible obstacle has been put in their way to silence their expression of strongly-held views. Mr. Lyttelton presumably hopes that his current talks on federation will be successful, but he is taking surprisingly little trouble to create a congenial atmosphere in which they can be held.

Then there is the case of Seretse Khama. He is to be excluded from his territory—not for the settling-down period of five years originally proposed by the Labour Government, but permanently. The Bamangwato might send a deputation, but the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations would not see it. The Secretary of State has now climbed down. He will see the deputation ‘as a matter of courtesy,’ but apparently he will not listen to it. ‘Perhaps some valuable purpose might be achieved by my seeing them if I can encourage them to face up to the new position and to look round for a new chief,’ said Lord Salisbury. But

again, the atmosphere can hardly be considered encouraging.

Worst of all was the incident of Tanjong Malim, a town in Malaya in which 12 murders had been committed by terrorists on one day. The High Commissioner himself went to announce to the people the measures he proposed to take:—

‘From now on a curfew will be imposed for 22 hours out of each 24. Worse than that, it is a house curfew. No man or woman or child is allowed out of his house from now on for 22 hours a day. You will be free to do your shopping between noon and 2 p.m. Even during those hours you will not be allowed out of the town. The shops will only be open for those two hours. The schools will be closed. No buses will operate from Tanjong Malim.

That is not all. If these Communist bandits can operate round here as they do, it can only mean one thing. They are obtaining their staple foodstuffs from the local population. I mean rice. The unscrupulous people among you, the evil people among you, have been doing this. So I am stopping it. From this moment until further notice the sale of “free” market rice within the Police District of Tanjong Malim will cease. The only rice to be sold will be to holders of valid rice cards. This will be done through those merchants who are in possession of Government licences for the sale of rice. . . Those of you merchants who are in possession of free market rice will be told how this will be removed. It will *not* be sold here.’

An additional magistrate, he went on, would be sent to deal with curfew offences, there would be reorganisation of the civil administration, backed by additional troops and police. He hoped that the people would now give information which previously they had been too cowardly to give. Then he added:—

‘Please remember what I have said. I do not want to have to come back here on a similar mission. But I am quite prepared to do so if the necessity demands. . . I am responsible for the restoration of law and order in this country. The reason why I want law and order is that I can get on with many things which are for the good of this country as a whole. Why should it be impossible to do these good things because people like you are too cowardly to help me? It is because of those sympathisers with Communism, which is the most evil thing in the world.’*

* Quoted from the *Weekly News Summary* issued by the Department of Information, Federation of Malaya.

The curfew so vividly described by General Templer lasted for 12 days, during which troops delivered and collected questionnaires to householders. As a result 30 arrests were made from amongst the inhabitants. Tanjong Malim then reverted to a partial curfew (midnight to 5 a.m.) and an increased rice ration.

Mr. Lyttelton sees nothing undesirable in this procedure. 'There is nothing uncivilised or reactionary in trying to prevent murder,' he said to a London meeting. Lord Salisbury was equally truculent in the House of Lords. 'He has an immensely exaggerated sense of justice,' he said of Lord Stansgate, who had attacked the Government, 'which always seems to be directed to those in conflict with his own country and not to those who are protecting the interests of his own country.' It is hard to understand how a sense of justice can be 'immensely exaggerated,' and how a protest against collective punishment can be considered otherwise than a support for British traditions at their best. It is difficult to believe, also, that the people of Tanjong Malim, terrorised by bandits and then confined to their houses and cut rations by British troops, will have gained the best possible impression of the democratic alternative to Com-

munist methods. This is all the more to be regretted since General Templer's other measures—the recruitment of Chinese to the police force, the introduction of a National Service Bill and the pressing forward of citizenship legislation—are designed to invite and encourage the co-operation of the people. No responsible person believes that the Communist movement in Malaya is a national rising, but the collective punishment of the innocent with the guilty goes far towards recognising it as such.

When the Conservative Government took office, Mr. Lyttelton issued a message to the Colonies designed to soothe those who thought that Conservative rule meant a heavy hand. Those who stifled their fears must now be as disillusioned as the British voters who took the Tory election programme at its face value.

FOOTNOTE. As we went to press, the delegations sent by the Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland African Congresses arrived, thousands of pounds having been subscribed, largely by villagers. They included three Chiefs. The 'official' delegations from the Northern Rhodesian African Representative Council and the Nyasaland Protectorate Council refused to enter Mr. Lyttelton's conference, being unanimously opposed to federation.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORM IN PUERTO RICO

*Robert J. Alexander**

ONE of the world's most interesting colonial experiments has been under way for the last dozen years in Puerto Rico. A left-wing democratic local administration has not only undertaken to come to grips with the economic problems facing the island, but has also profoundly influenced the relationship of Puerto Rico with the mainland of the United States.

Puerto Ricans have been American citizens since 1917, and although they do not vote in presidential elections, and have only a representative with a voice but not a vote in the United States Congress, the position of the island has been a peculiar one constitutionally almost since the United States took control as a result of the Spanish American War in 1898. The island has had its own legislature, though until recently the Governor and a number of other officials were appointed by the President of the United States. The island has been governed until now under the Organic Act of 1917, as amended.

In 1940 there was organised a new political party in Puerto Rico, the Popular Democratic Party. Its

leader was Luis Munoz Marin, son of Luis Munoz Rivera, who was the island's most important political leader until his death in 1917. Munoz Marin had been successively a Socialist and a Liberal, and had lived in New York City for a number of years, earning a meagre living as a journalist.

Although Munoz Marin had in his earlier days been an advocate of independence for Puerto Rico, in 1940 he refused to make this an issue. Rather he went to the people with a programme of social reform and economic reconstruction, which caught the popular imagination, and gave his newly-born party its first victory. Since that victory, Luis Munoz Marin has been the dominant figure in Puerto Rican political life.

First as leader of the Puerto Rican Senate, and then as the island's first elected Governor, Munoz Marin has carried out an extensive economic and political programme. He has carried out an agrarian reform under a forgotten clause in the first Organic Act of 1900 which forbade corporations to own more than a certain amount of land. Under this programme, the Puerto Rican Government has taken over sizeable plantations, some of which it

* Assistant Professor in Rutgers University, New Brunswick, U.S.A.

is running co-operatively, others which have been parcelled. At the same time, Munoz carried out a programme to give the landless workers at least the land upon which their house and garden stood.

However, Munoz has realised that an agrarian programme is merely a palliative in Puerto Rico and that some way must be found to allow the island's excessive population to support itself. His first step in this direction was to set up the Power Authority, which proceeded to acquire the island's principal public utilities and merge them into an island-wide network, at the same time building countless new hydro-electric projects, which more than doubled the island's available electric power.

He has tried to encourage the industrialisation of the island. During the war the Puerto Rican Development Corporation constructed six new industrial plants, including cement works, a glass factory and several others. Most of these were sold to private industry after the war, and the Development Corporation has devoted its energies to trying to get continental companies to establish plants in Puerto Rico. It has been quite successful. New textile plants, clothing factories, ceramics manufactures have been established in the island. The number of new plants exceeds 75 at the present time. At the same time, Puerto Rican businessmen have been encouraged to create new industries. These include plastic factories and other plants.

The Popular Democrats have also sought to diversify the country's agriculture. Although sugar is undoubtedly the most profitable crop on lands where it is now grown, there are areas which are not now producing anything. The government has sought to bring these into production. Pineapples and other crops are now being grown in considerable profusion.

While attempting to solve some of the island's most pressing economic problems, the Munoz régime has at the same time attempted to work out a new relationship with the mainland. Munoz realises that Puerto Rico has more to lose than to gain by becoming independent. He knows that for two decades U.S. Federal Government expenditures in the island have served to make up a deficit in the island's trade with the mainland. He knows, too, that many of the island's new industries which have been built up to supply markets on the mainland would be useless if Puerto Rico were outside the United States tariff wall.

Hence, Munoz has attempted to develop a relationship which will give Puerto Rico complete control of its own internal affairs, and yet maintain the economic and some loose political ties with the mainland. Munoz has defended this policy not only on economic grounds but on political ones as

well—pointing out that so long as Puerto Rico remains inside the American Union, the island does not run the risk of the kind of military dictatorship which is so widespread in Latin-America.

In developing this new relationship with the continent, Munoz has had the co-operation of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Roosevelt backed fully Munoz' social reforms in the island. Since 1945 Truman has rushed through Congress several modifications of the island's constitutional status. The first of these was the 1947 law providing for the popular election of the Governor of the island, and the appointment by the Governor of all officials hitherto named by the United States President.

More recently Truman sponsored a law to allow Puerto Rico to write its own constitution. Such a basic law, once it was approved by Congress, would presumably have the same validity as that of a State, which cannot be changed by Congressional fiat—though it can be interpreted by the Federal Supreme Court and is in any case subsidiary to the United States Constitution.

Although there is a restless minority of independence advocates in Puerto Rico, the great majority of the Puerto Rican people have in eight successive elections endorsed the position of Munoz Marin and his party. Indeed, the party advocating statehood is still larger than the Partido Independetista. The fanatic Partido Nacionalista, which attempted to assassinate Munoz Marin and President Truman a year ago, represent only an infinitesimal minority and lost a considerable amount of the public support they possessed by their mad attempt at revolt.

FABIAN INTERNATIONAL BUREAU AND FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU JOINT CONFERENCE ON

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Chairman: Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, M.P.

Speakers: Dr. Victor Purcell,
Miss Dorothy Woodman,
Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, M.P.,

on June 7, 2.30-7.30 p.m.

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WHAT IS PARTNERSHIP? TWO ANSWERS*

1. *By The Right Honourable James Griffiths, M.P.*†

'Now I come to the proposal made by the Northern Rhodesian delegates at the Victoria Falls Conference when they indicated that they would be willing to consider the question of federation on the basis of the Officials' Report if a policy of partnership in Northern Rhodesia were defined and as thus defined put into progressive operation. . . No similar proposal was put forward by the representatives of Nyasaland, as they were merely mandated to oppose federation and they did not go beyond that. . . I had hoped that after the conference ended immediate steps would have been taken to bring together representatives of the Europeans and of the Africans of Northern Rhodesia to seek to work out a definition and a programme for implementing that definition, which would be agreed to by representatives of all races. No discussions have as yet taken place. Indeed, some of the Africans have gone so far as to repudiate the proposals of their representatives and to withdraw the proposal of partnership. . .

It was a grave mistake to hold discussions with the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and the Governors of the two territories (both subject to the will of the Secretary of State). The day is far gone when matters of this kind can be decided in the absence of representatives of the peoples themselves . . . either in Central Africa or elsewhere. . . It was wrong to have brought forward the date of the proposed conference to April without any consultation with the representatives of the Africans. So should the Europeans have been consulted. . . Africans interpret this as an attempt to railroad federation. I don't believe any Government in this country will seek to impose federation. I do not believe it can be done. If it were attempted it would have no chance of success. On the contrary, it would exacerbate the existing racial situation and have serious consequences for the whole of Africa. . .

The underlying cause of the African's opposition is the fear that closer association might lead to an all-white Government, to white supremacy and black subservience. So in Central Africa we must seek to find a solution to the basic problem of race relations, to remove mutual fears—and they are *mutual fears*—and the distrust which everyone who visits the territories feels. The Northern Rhodesian 'partnership' proposal offers the opportunity to work out a programme. I would like to see similar proposals offered by the Africans of Nyasaland, and see them accepted and discussions begun. . . It would be far wiser to postpone further consideration of federation until these discussions on partnership have taken place. . .

* See *Venture*, December, 1951, January, February, March and April, 1952, for previous contributions to this discussion.

† In a speech on March 19, 1952.

I would put forward some suggestions—based on my experience during my recent visit to Central Africa. If discussion could be concentrated on these problems we should be making a practical contribution to the defining of Partnership. . .

There should be convened by the Government of Northern Rhodesia a conference of representatives of the mine-owners and of the European and African mine-workers' unions to discuss a policy of the advancement in industry of the African miners in accordance with their skill and experience. This is a matter of very great importance. I say to the mine-workers—and I hope that these words will carry to them—that as a miner I hope that they will come together. I am proud to be a member of the National Union of Mine-workers, and I do hope that miners at any rate can find it possible to solve a problem of this kind by mutual agreement. . .

Now we come to community life. In these territories it is a question of separate races living in the same country, working in the same industries, tilling the same soil and living in the same towns and villages—but growing up as two separate nations with scarcely any opportunity to meet together. Here I think the Government might give a lead by abolishing the discrimination that takes place in public places. This would be a beginning—perhaps a small beginning. But a simple act such as this would have a symbolic meaning and an influence far beyond the act itself. There should be the promotion of facilities by which and through which peoples of all races could start talking and growing up together, sharing their lives together. . .

The time has come to bring the African peoples who live in the towns into local government. There should be African representatives on the town councils. There should also be discussion of constitutional change in central government. Here I would commend the spirit of the Tanganyika proposals, in which representatives of the major races have themselves decided to work towards equal representation of the three races in the territories. Whatever may be thought of the details, tribute should be paid to the *spirit* of this attempt to shift the emphasis from racial inequality to equality.

Here in East and Central Africa are different communities. They have got to learn to live together, to share a common home. I would say to my African friends, if you repudiate partnership, what is the alternative? I think the alternative was put recently in a broadcast by Mr. Peter Abrahams, in which he made this profoundly wise statement:—

"In my fight against the system of South Africa, or against the South African whites, since the two are interlocked at times, I may so change myself that I, too, become diseased by the virus I fight against. That, I hold, is the horror that is active

among many Negroes to-day . . . In the struggle to be free, many Negroes have arrived at a position where they would counter the white bigot's race-hatred with a race-hatred against whites; many who have been humiliated because of their colour joy openly at the humiliation of the white person *because* he is white. So many have changed so much that they have lost the magic of the dream that carried them on the uphill journey till 'they lifted themselves up by their own boot-strings.' Large numbers of Negroes to-day counterpoise a black humanity against a white humanity."*

I can only say that this is true. And if we as whites

counterpoise a white humanity against a black humanity, we shall reap as we have sown. But Africans must realise that to follow suit is not the way—except to disaster.

So I end by saying that whatever happens to the federation proposals, in East and Central Africa all peoples must face the problem of learning to live together. Either they learn to live together in equal partnership, in equal dignity, working together in building democracy, or racial bitterness and racial conflict will bring catastrophe. May Africa find the right road in time.

2. By The Government of Northern Rhodesia†

1. *The ultimate political objective* for the people of Northern Rhodesia is self-government within the British Commonwealth; self-government must take full account of the rights and interests of both Europeans and Africans and include a proper provision for both.

2. *The only satisfactory basis* on which such provision can be secured is economic and political partnership between the races, and this is the approved policy for Northern Rhodesia.

3. *The application of such partnership in practice* must ensure that Africans are helped forward along the path of economic, social and political progress on which their feet have already been set so that they may take their full part with the rest of the community in the economic and political life of the territory. Africans for their part must be willing to accept the responsibilities, as well as the privileges, which such advancement entails.

There can be no question of the Government of Northern Rhodesia subordinating the interests of any section of the community to those of any other section.

The application of the policy of partnership is not in any way inconsistent with, and does not in any way interfere with, the territory's present protectorate status.

It imposes on each of the two sections (Europeans and Africans) an obligation to recognise the right of the other section to a permanent home in Northern Rhodesia.

4. *In the political sphere* partnership implies that any constitutional arrangement must include proper provision for both Europeans and Africans and proper safeguards for their rights and interests.

5. *Generally*, partnership implies that Europeans and Africans will pay due regard to each other's outlook, beliefs, customs and legitimate aspirations and anxieties.

6. *In the political sphere*, Africans will be able to advance until ultimately (so long as representation on racial grounds remain) they have the same number of representatives as the Europeans in both the Legislative and Executive Council, when they are fit for

this. It is hoped to make early progress towards this end, and it is proposed that there should be an increased number of representatives of African interests in the next Legislative Council.

7. *In the economic field* every individual must be free to rise to the level that his ability, energy, qualifications and character permit. In accordance with its declared policy, that Africans in Northern Rhodesia should be afforded opportunities for employment in more responsible work as and when they are qualified to undertake it, the Government will continue to provide more and better facilities for the training of Africans for such work.

8. *In the educational field* the Government will, in co-operation with Native Authorities and missions, continue to work steadily towards universal literacy for all African children of school-going age, and it will, in accordance with long-term plans already made, provide expanded facilities for both secondary education and vocational training. The question of building in Central Africa a higher college for Africans is being actively pursued in consultation with the other two governments concerned, and expert advice on the subject is being sought.

9. *In the field of Local Government*, the Government is training Africans to take a larger and more effective part in the administration of rural areas. In the towns, African membership of African Affairs Sub-committees of Municipal Councils and Township Management Boards is extending, and it is to be expected that as Africans gain the necessary knowledge and experience, they will become members of such Councils and Boards.

10. *In the Government Service* Africans are being trained for and promoted to more responsible positions as they show themselves capable of assuming heavier duties and increased responsibility.

11. *At the present state of development of Africans*, repeal of all differential legislation would not be in their best interests; much of it is designed to protect them, and some of it grants them special privileges. It has been the policy of the Government to remove or relax the differential provisions in legislation as the advancement of the Africans renders such provisions no longer necessary. The Government will keep

* Quoted from *The Listener*, February 21, 1952.

† Published on April 8, 1952, as a basis for local discussion.

(Continued on page 12)

FACT

A YEAR IN CYPRUS

What goes on in Cyprus in addition to agitation for union with Greece? The following details, extracted from the "Cyprus Review," give a picture of the year 1951 as seen by the administration.

DEVELOPMENT

Since the 10-year Development Programme was launched in 1946, nearly £3m. has been spent, including nearly £950,000 on agriculture and irrigation, over £450,000 on medical work and over £240,000 on village improvements such as water supplies. In addition, local authorities and the Central Electrification Scheme incurred development expenditure. The total estimate for the ten-year period is not less than £12m. In 1951, expenditure on development was £790,000. In 1952, the Government expects to spend over £1m. With local authority and Electrification Scheme expenditure, the total for 1952 is expected to be £3½m.

AGRICULTURE

Cereal yields were hit by drought, so the Government raised its prices for wheat and barley sold to the Government, and also provided relief works in the drought areas. Exports of tobacco to the United States increased, and grapes, raisins and wines sold satisfactorily. Mules and donkeys were exported to neighbouring territories. A far-reaching Soil Conservation Bill was prepared.

FORESTS

Afforestation made steady progress and eight more villages balloted for the exclusion of goats. With the opening of a new Forest College, 'Cyprus assumed the forest leadership of the Middle East.' On the first course there are 28 students, including 18 from Cyprus and 10—some nominated by the United Nations—from Jordan, Syria, Eibya and Iraq. Kenya, Uganda and the Lebanon are expected to send students.

CO-OPERATION

Membership of co-operative societies has risen to more than 100,000. Twenty-four new societies were registered during the year, bringing the total to 643. Of these, 450 are credit and savings societies which issue loans and supply farmers with agricultural requirements; 130 are consumers' stores. The co-operatives, by allowing extension of current loans and granting new ones for the purchase of seed and fodder, played a major part in the areas affected by drought. Carob- and potato-marketing unions had a successful year. The Review comments: 'It is not so many years ago that the farmers of Cyprus were in the grip of money-lenders and middlemen. The co-operative movement has helped them to escape this exploitation and advance towards better living.'

WATER SUPPLY

1951 was a record year for Cyprus in irrigation and the development of domestic water supplies. 'A new irrigation scheme was completed, on average, every three days.' Sixty-eight villages were given

pipéd water supplies, compared with 52 in 1950 and 32 in 1949. Nearly half the total number of villages now have pipéd water.

MINES

Mineral exports rose by £1½m. to £7m. These included copper and iron pyrites and chrome ore. A record amount of asbestos fibre was produced and a plant for the manufacture of asbestos cement sheets was completed.

LABOUR

Wages and the cost-of-living both rose. Time lost in strikes and lock-outs fell by a third. New labour legislation included an amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Law, providing for improved rates of compensation, extension to cover certain occupational diseases, and the substitution of periodic for lump-sum payments.

HEALTH

Infant mortality fell to 60 per 1,000 live births, the lowest figure ever recorded. The general death rate was just over 8 per thousand, one of the lowest in the world, comparing with 11.6 in Britain and 9.6 in the United States. There was not a single new case of malaria in 1951.

EDUCATION

There are now over 700 elementary schools.* It is estimated that the cost to the public per child at an elementary school is £13 a year, of which £2 comes from school tax, the rest from Government. There are 50 secondary schools, now spread all over the island. In 1940 there were five candidates for the London matriculation examination; in 1951, 214.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community schemes are now organised with the assistance of Commissioners, working in consultation with the district representatives of the Departments concerned, the villagers themselves proposing the undertakings. On the recommendation of District Development Committees and in response to village initiative, £6,000 was spent in 1951 on such schemes as the construction of wine storage tanks, agricultural instruction and the planting of olive and fruit trees.

PRISONS

The open camp system initiated in 1949 has now become a permanent feature. A camp was run from May to December, at which 60 convicts were accommodated and employed by the Antiquities Department in the old town of Famagusta. 'The men displayed keen interest in the work, which was mainly devoted to the clearance of historic sites.'

Cyprus is an island of 3,572 square miles, equal to the area of Kent, Sussex and Surrey combined. It has a population of nearly 500,000, the majority of whom are Greek. It came into British occupation in 1878 and was formally made a Colony in 1925.

* This figure can be related to the number of villages, which is 627.—Ed.

RUANDA-URUNDI GETS A TEN YEAR PLAN

RUANDA-URUNDI has recently been visited by a second Mission from the United Nations, which presented a unanimous report last December. (T/948.) As in the first Mission's report of 1948 (T/217) there was favourable comment on the social and economic development of the territory, and substantial progress was again reported in those spheres.

Ruanda-Urundi is overshadowed by one factor which determines all others: it is over-populated by man and beast. It is the most densely populated area of Central Africa (compare 71 per sq. km. with 4.6 in the Belgian Congo). Its four million inhabitants are unevenly spread over 54,172 sq. km. of which area only 42 per cent. is arable, and almost entirely sown with subsistence crops. This over-population leads to deforestation, erosion, uncertain rainfall, hazardous agriculture and the threat of famine, which is still a constant peril in this land.

In the past some alleviation was attempted by settlement both within the Trust Territory and in the Congo, by migration to Tanganyika and Uganda, and by a small measure of industrialisation. Since the war, the Belgian administration has concentrated on this problem, and has consolidated its intentions in a Ten-year Development Plan which, states the Mission, is of great importance to the future of the country in its comprehensive and long-range planning. The Plan will not only continue with technical development; better methods of agriculture—reclamation, afforestation, fish-pond stocking, food storage centres, the development of co-operation—but will attack the three basic problems. In this it will be aided by Agricultural and Research Institutions from the Congo, with which Ruanda-Urundi has an administrative union, and by the Indigenous Welfare Fund. This is supported by the Colonial lottery. Although it may seem strange to British ideas to support colonial development by such methods, they provided 53m. francs in 1950.

It is intended to set up agricultural communities, since there are few villages in the territory, and the isolation of the community in family units makes any sort of progress or development of social spirit exceedingly difficult. 'The wide dispersal of the population represents the greatest obstacle to civilising influences. As long as the people remain scattered as they are to-day, they will retain that paralyzing inertia which will frustrate all attempts to improve their lot.' The Mission, however, admits that change may bring social disturbance and hardship and some element of attraction must be found to 'compensate for such advantages as they may now find in their present way of life.'

The second problem is concerned with the cattle, which have a high social and political significance. The people are organised in a feudal system curiously like our own mediaeval system, but with cattle instead

of land as its basis. Cattle are farmed out by their owners in return for personal service right down the social scale, and allegiance and protection continue from one generation to the next. The cattle, not being absolutely owned, cannot be alienated. The indigenous chiefs have agreed to bring about the end of this system by an apportionment of their cattle in absolute ownership, and the reduction of cattle to an economic factor. To encourage co-operation, there is to be an indigenous organisation for buying cattle and a slaughtering and processing plant to be run on a profit-sharing basis; this to be linked to a livestock improvement programme.

Thirdly, the administration has recognised the importance of indigenous co-operation in the carrying out of the Plan. 'It would be impossible to achieve anything and nothing would be worth even attempting' without this. It is there that the political backwardness of the Territory becomes an obstacle to development. Ruanda-Urundi (originally two separate kingdoms) is administered by a Governor by means of Ordinances, Crown Decrees and Belgian Parliamentary Laws. There is no legislative body in the territory, and the Advisory Council has little political significance, with small indigenous representation. Subordinate and customary native institutions administer native affairs under European supervision; the chiefs, as Government agents on the French model, act as links between the Government and the population. An attempt to create local councils among natives living in 'extra-customary centres,' has not yet met with any great success. There is little relationship between local and central administration, and under the existing régime the native inhabitants have little chance of making themselves heard. Lack of educational facilities prevents the development of educated native officials to any large degree, although the voluntary work of the religious missionary schools cannot be over-estimated. The Mission found that teaching about the United Nations was 'not very effective' or widely distributed, and there was some fear that petitions might be rewarded by official retribution.

The Belgian Ten-year Plan, though magnificently conceived, has as yet to be tried in terms of the human factor. The administration is facing what every progressive colonial government faces, the difficulty of ensuring that political and economic progress are geared to each other. The very backwardness of the native population, with its passive opposition to change, may be the rock to ruin this latest Plan. The existing political structure does little to encourage the development of a progressive outlook amongst the people. The Administering Authority may find that political change is essential to the success of its Plan.

Molly Mortimer

Parliament

Central African Federation: Livingstone Hostel. Mr. Sorensen asked how many African delegates had been accommodated at the Government hostel, Livingstone, during the conference on Closer Association; what reasons had been given by the two civil servants who left the hostel on the arrival of the African delegates; and whether the hostel was normally open for the accommodation of both Europeans and Africans. Mr. Lyttelton replied that five African delegates had been accommodated at this hotel. The hostel had been built primarily to house European officers stationed at Livingstone, where there was an acute shortage of housing. It was normally occupied only by Europeans. The two junior officials who had left the hostel were not required to state their reasons. (February 27.)

Colour Bar and Public Entertainments. Mr. Callaghan asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he would introduce legislation to make it an offence to deny British subjects the right of admission to public places of entertainment solely on account of their colour. The Home Secretary replied that while he fully shared the view as to the undesirability of discrimination against coloured persons, whether or not they were British subjects, he thought that this matter was not best dealt with by legislation and that it should be regulated by the influence of enlightened public opinion. (March 6.)

District Officers in the Gold Coast. Mr. Sorensen asked what was the effect of the re-arrangement of the duties of District Officers in the Gold Coast and to what extent these offices were now being filled by the appointment of Africans. Mr. Lyttelton replied that District Commissioners, renamed Government Agents, would act as local agents of the central government, and in particular would represent the Minister of Local Government in connection with local government reform and administration. Recruitment to the Gold Coast Administrative Service had, since the summer of 1951, been confined to Africans. Five out of the 98 Administrative Officers in the field were Africans and four more Africans had recently been selected. There were also eight African Administrative Officers serving in ministries in Accra. The rate of future African recruitment to this service depended on the availability of suitable candidates. In addition a new cadre of African Executive Officers was being created to remove District Officers from many of their routine duties. (March 6.)

Immigration Legislation in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In reply to a question by Mr. Rankin, Mr. Lyttelton said that the N. Rhodesia Government was considering a general revision of their immigration laws, but had not yet reached final conclusions on the matter. The problem in Nyasaland was different in kind, but the Government also had their immigration laws under review. (March 12.)

Housing in Aden. Mr. Rankin asked what action had been taken to implement the Aden Town Planning Ordinance 1948; and how many houses had been built for manual and professional workers. Mr. Lyttelton said that the townships of the Fortress and Sheikh Othman had been declared planning areas under the Ordinance, but the preparation of a town planning scheme had to await a cadastral survey of the existing development. This required staff which so far had not been obtainable. Since 1946 the Government of Aden had built 667 houses for manual workers and 60 houses for professional workers. In addition a considerable number of houses had been built by private interests for both manual and professional workers, but figures were not available. In a supplementary question Mr. Rankin said that in view of this somewhat scanty performance, especially for professional workers, and in view also of the continued abominable housing conditions in Aden Colony generally, did the Secretary of State think that it was right to proceed with the building of a new Government House costing £45,000. Mr. Lyttelton maintained that it was the absence of professional staff which held back the plan. (March 12.)

Wages Boards in East and Central Africa. Mr. John Hynd asked whether the Secretary of State was satisfied that the Wages Boards established in East and Central Africa had effectively contributed to improvements in the standards of living of workers in these territories, and to the development of effective trade unions, and whether he would make a statement. Mr. Lyttelton replied that the statutory machinery was designed to meet the need for regulating wages where it was not yet met by voluntary measures. He was satisfied that, in determining minimum rates below which wages must not fall, the Wages Boards had effectively contributed towards better living conditions, and had also provided valuable training for the development of voluntary organisations. (March 26.)

Nyasaland: Prohibition on Collection of Funds. In reply to three questions as to why the African Congress had been prohibited from collecting funds to send a deputation to Great Britain, Mr. Lyttelton said that several years ago some, but not all, native authorities in Nyasaland had made orders prohibiting the collection of subscriptions from Africans in their areas without a permit from the Provincial Commissioner. Having regard to the numerous complaints and allegations which followed the collection of funds to pay for an African delegation to London in 1948, the Governor had decided that the Provincial Commissioners should not grant permits in the present instance. But he saw no reason to question the Governor's decision, especially since two of the three persons chosen by the Nyasaland African Protectorate Council to visit this country in April at his invitation in order to discuss the Federation proposals were members of the African Congress. (March 26.)

Guide to Books

The Rise of the Basuto

By G. Tylden. (Juta and Co., Ltd., South Africa. 25/-.)

The writing of the history of contact between Western peoples and Africans requires a rare breadth of methodological approaches, knowledge and sympathy. Even if the historian is well equipped on the anthropological side, the absence of written documentation for tribal history makes his task frustrating and laborious. Mr. Tylden shows himself well aware of the dangers of writing a 'white man's history'—an easy temptation when the British and Boer campaigns against the Basuto are well documented, while on the African side it is necessary to sift patiently collected oral evidence, interpret tribal legend, and examine difficult mountainous terrain in order simply to discover the facts of a Basuto manoeuvre. Yet this the author has done, with meticulous care and insight, and it is evident that he has assembled evidence for the Basuto of the greatest value. The book cannot be too highly commended from this point of view. It is not only due to bias that most histories of South Africa, which in the schools and universities give South Africans their conception of their own country, are histories of European struggle and conquest. It is due also to this real difficulty of discovering and assembling African material. South Africa has produced, and attracts, many distinguished anthropologists, but the insight which their work provides is confined to the specialists. When the positive nature of African institutions finds a place in the standard histories, when the African ceases to figure simply as the permanent enemy lurking among the kopjes, the balance will be righted and the South African mind may be weaned from its fear-ridden and exclusively political habits of thought.

Mr. Tylden has consciously excluded anthropological matters from his book. None the less, because of his sympathy and deep understanding of the Basuto, he reveals the total clash of interests which made the protracted wrangle over the western boundary of Basutoland (a struggle which did as much to unite the Basuto tribes as Moshesh himself) a misery to black and white alike. He reveals the continuity and depth of the Basuto dread of incorporation into a state governed by their traditional enemies, and the reasons for their fervent desire to remain 'the lice in the Queen's blanket' in spite of the fact that economically they are almost totally dependent on the Union and its goodwill.

It must be said, however, that by his conscious self-limitation to the traditional field of history, the author relies too much on the reader to understand the course of events he so ably presents. The dispute over the boundary, the endless cattle-stealing and reprisals, and Moshesh's inability to control his subject chiefs (which gave a succession of Governors and mediators real cause for mistrust) can only be explained, as dis-

tinct from revealed, by a study of Bantu tribal organisation and culture. A boundary line is meaningless to a pastoral community; cattle stealing to them is a mark of prowess, not of dishonesty; a tribal chief is the overlord but not the keeper of his brothers, and it is not in his power to alienate the land of the tribe however genuine his desire to strike a bargain. All this is stated by Mr. Tylden, briefly, at various times, but it is never given due weight in relation to a mass of military and political detail. These questions are at the heart of the clash of black and white interests. The European inability or unwillingness thoroughly to understand the nature of African institutions is still at the heart of the misunderstanding in Africa; and for all his care and sympathetic documentation, Mr. Tylden has missed the opportunity of showing us the real dynamics of the struggle. We are the more disappointed because he comes so near to it.

Prudence Smith.

Venture to the Interior

By Laurens van der Post. (Hogarth Press. 12/6.)

What a literature of adventure there is in our language from the pen of the man of action, at once reflective and widely read! What a satisfying medium English is for this particular genre! Colonel van der Post has written a memorable account of exploration in the highlands of Nyasaland. His writing is all movement, all sparkle—try this description of a first brief view of the mountain that he has been sent to climb:—

'Black clouds from the Portuguese border were rolling over the base of Mlanje and soaring up like deep volcanic explosions round its flanks. The highest peak had spiked one of the darkest clouds and seemed to be whirling it triumphantly round its head; but, as I watched, a whole concentration of cloud rolled down on it, and hid it from view.'

In passages like these his analysis flows out in terms of drama. It is of drama that I feel sure he writes best. How at home he is with the personalities of the people that he meets—and, how they flower for him one and all into creatures of dignity and grace, as the Nyasaland hills have a habit of flowering for him:—

'The summit was covered with wild irises, with lovely, proud spikes of purple flower. Everywhere there were small, glowing, delicate, precise flames of purple. They stood erect and undismayed, heraldic in the mist and wind. The grave, lowered head of the African plateau could not have understood the vision of chivalry they evoked.'

But Colonel van der Post is writing of at least two other things. He is trying (to quote T. S. Eliot, whom he admires) 'to apprehend the point of intersection of the timeless with time.' And he is trying to establish within himself a more just balance between the African and the European aspects of his own personality. This is the part I must confess I found the most unsatisfying, because it is the least resolved. Early

attempts at apprehending the relationship move off to a splendid start:—

'In this nightfall of the spirit, I have only to look over my shoulder to see this other side of life coming up over the horizon of our consciousness, like a dark Homeric hull sailing before winds blowing from the uttermost limits of time.'

The promise is, alas, not wholly realised.

The author of this book, born and bred in Africa, his parents with deep roots in the Continent, is a European in almost a humanistic sense: I admire the grappling with these elements within his soul. And when I feel he has failed to satisfy the conditions of this drama, I am not greatly disappointed. For Colonel van der Post will continue wrestling to apprehend what I am sure can only be received intuitively, and I look forward to further reports of the drama.

Richard Izard.

SHORT NOTICES

Introducing the British Pacific Islands. Prepared by the Colonial Office and the Central Office of Information. (H.M.S.O. 2/6.) An attractive booklet with maps, numerous illustrations of the islands and their peoples, a survey of past history and present-day activities, and a short list of books 'selected from the almost inexhaustible range of South Pacific literature.'

Public Libraries in the Colonies, by R. A. Flood, F.L.A., Foreword by General Sir Ronald Bird, Bt. (Library Association Pamphlet No. 5, Chaucer House, Malet Place, London, W.C.1. 5s.) There will be widespread agreement to-day 'that a public library service is essential to the progress of the Colonies.' Mr. Flood gives an interesting survey of developments since the opening of the Bermuda library in 1839. Much remains to be done to maintain and extend services in all areas.

Letters to a Young Teacher, by A. V. P. Elliott. (Longmans, Green and Co., Lantern Library, 1s. 6d.) Ten 'letters' written by an ex-Makerere teacher on such subjects as the purpose of teacher training, the teacher's relation to his pupils, etc. A useful pamphlet for discussion, designed to implant the conception that teaching is more than a mere 'job.'

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this matter under close review and propose to the Legislature, from time to time, such further amendments as it may consider appropriate.

12. As regards discriminatory practices based on racial distinctions, these are incompatible with the policy of partnership, and the trend of public opinion in Northern Rhodesia is towards a clearer recognition of this fact. Such practices are diminishing in Northern Rhodesia and will diminish still more rapidly as Europeans and Africans recognise each other's needs as well as their own obligations in this matter. The Government has taken and is taking steps to encourage, in both races, a sympathetic and helpful approach to this problem.

LONDON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY (POLITICAL COMMITTEE) AND FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU JOINT CONFERENCE

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Chairman: Councillor H. Fox (*Chairman of the Political Committee of the L.C.S.*).

Speaker: Lady Selwyn-Clarke, L.C.C. (*Assistant-Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau*).

CO-OPERATION IN THE COLONIES

Chairman: Mr. R. W. Sorensen, M.P. (*Vice-Chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau*).

Speaker: Mr. W. P. Watkins (*Director of the International Co-operative Alliance*).
on May 24, 3 p.m.

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